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Hyp. *Pro Eux.* xxxviii: καὶ οὐ σὲ μὲν οὕτως οἶομαι δεῖν πράττειν, αὐτὸς, δὲ ἄλλον τινὰ τρόπον τῇ πολιτείᾳ κέχρημαι.

Aristid. ii, p. 685 Df.: καὶ οὐχὶ παλαί μὲν οὕτω πρὸς πάντας θανμαστῶς — ἔσχεν ἢ πόλις, νῦν δὲ ὡς ἐτέρως.

The application of the construction here seems quite independent of any question as to the technical force of ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν in Greek boxing or wrestling. It is enough for our purpose that it is opposed to ἐπὶ θάτερα. For the rest, the relativity of the phrase may be illustrated from the observation of Herodotus ii. 36: γράμματα γράφουσι καὶ λογίζονται ψήφοις Ἕλληνες μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ φέροντες τὴν χεῖρα, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερά. καὶ ποιούντες ταῦτα αὐτοὶ μὲν φασι ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ποιεῖν, Ἕλληνας δὲ ἐπ' ἀριστερά. Still if ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν designates the abnormal and harder way, it would in strict logic make against my interpretation. But Plato need not have been thinking of this any more than Hector was in the boast (*Il.* vii. 238):

οἷδ' ἐπὶ δεξιὰ οἷδ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ νωμῆσαι βῶν.

The only escape I can see from the emendation is to assume that Plato himself by inadvertence wrote ἀδύνατος. Such momentary mental confusion is of course always conceivable. The sentence, "No event is too extraordinary to be impossible," stands today in the printed text of Huxley's writings. But Huxley would doubtless have welcomed an emendation. And if by an oversight Plato wrote ἀδύνατος, it is, I think, probable that he meant δυνατός.<sup>1</sup>

PAUL SHOREY

#### THE DATE OF CICERO *Ad Att.* xv. 6

Cicero's Letter *Ad Att.* xv. 6, is dated on May 28 or 29, 44 B.C., by all recent editions, apparently because of its position in the manuscript in a series of letters that fall between May 24 and June 2. Position in the manuscript is, however, no criterion, for when Atticus was traveling about—as at this time he was moving about between Rome, Lanuvium, and Tusculum—he did not always receive his letters in their due order, and in such cases he frequently placed them in his roll in wrong sequence. A brief examination will show that the letter should be dated about June 2, and that in consequence two passages that have been misunderstood because of the erroneous dating will at once become clear.

<sup>1</sup> Logical confusions between affirmative and negative, positive and privative are common in idiom, colloquial speech, and literature. Campbell (essay on the text, *Republic*, Vol. II, p. 106) says that there are more than fifty instances of this form of error in the MSS of the *Republic*. In Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* III, 2, 205 the text reads, "Let all constant men be called Troiluses," where strict logic requires "inconstant."

First as to date: the letter contains a letter from Hirtius to Cicero written upon his leaving Rome, in which he says: "Noli autem me tam strenuum putare ut *ad Nonas* recurram." Now it will be remembered that Antony on June 1 or 2 amazed Rome by passing a plebiscite which conferred upon himself the Gallic provinces for five years, and about the same time he announced a senate meeting for the Nones at which Brutus and Cassius were to be "kicked upstairs" by means of a grain commission (see Sternkopf, *Hermes*, 1912). Now Cicero, who was at Tusculum, received the news of this announced meeting directly from Balbus on the evening of June 2 (*Att.* xv. 9. 1). The announcement could hardly have been made before the evening of June 1 or the morning of June 2. This, then, is the meeting to which Hirtius (in *Att.* xv. 6) says he has no intention of going, and his letter is doubtless to be dated on or very soon after June 2. Because of the importance of the matter contained in it Cicero probably sent it to Atticus at once, which gives us June 2-3 as the date of *Att.* xv. 6.

Because of the misdating of this letter the editors have concluded from xv. 6. 2: "Etiam ex urbe sum profectus. Utilius enim statui abesse," that Hirtius was not at Rome on the eventful June 1, though it is now clear that he was. They have accordingly changed the text of *Att.* xv. 5. 2: "Et Hirtius quidem se *acturum*," to *afuturum*, and misinterpreted the phrases that follow. Since Hirtius did go to Rome<sup>1</sup> for the senate meeting of June 1, it is entirely natural that he should, two or three days before, say that he intended to further (*acturum*) the interests of peace by supporting a conciliatory measure<sup>2</sup> by which the liberators should be assigned provinces at once. No one then knew that the commission which Antony had in mind was to be in the form of an insult. *Acturum* found in M. should therefore be rehabilitated. The phrases that follow the passage prove, therefore, to refer, not to Hirtius' fear of danger to himself, but merely to Hirtius' fear of danger to Cicero: *ille quidem* and *ego autem* both refer back to the causes (*auctor*) why Cicero should remain away from Rome.

Finally, to come back to Hirtius' letter (*Att.* xv. 6. 2), the editors by placing the letter before the plebiscite of June 1-2 have failed to see the point of the words: "Nihil enim iam video opus esse nostra cura, *quoniam praesidia sunt in tot annos provisum*." Tyrrell and Purser give the usual view: "[This] seems to refer to all the measures, military and otherwise, by which Caesar had sought to ensure the stability of the State." However, it is strange that measures taken by Caesar before his death on the Ides of March should now

<sup>1</sup> If further proof of his presence at Rome were necessary, *Att.* xv. 8, written on the day before the Calends, says: "After your departure I had a letter . . . from Hirtius who writes that he is very much out of favor with the veterans." Hirtius was certainly then at Rome and not with Cicero at Tusculum as he had been when xv. 5 was written.

<sup>2</sup> This was also Hirtius' rôle early in April, as appears from *Ad. fam.* xi. 1, that extremely important letter which Professor Merrill has now convincingly dated (*Class. Phil.*, 1915, pp. 241 ff.).

suddenly induce Hirtius to hurry away from Rome where he had just arrived a day or two before. The reference is clearly a sarcastic reference by the consul-elect to the surprising plebiscite of June 1-2, whereby Antony gained command of Gaul for five years, a plebiscite which at once revealed Antony's plan to become master of Rome as Caesar had been and which might soon place Hirtius in the painful predicament of choosing between his promised consulship and a position as supporter of his old-time friend Antony.

The conclusion of this note is that Hirtius was at Rome on June 1, that *acturum* should be restored to the text of *Att.* xv. 5. 2, that Hirtius' letter (*Att.* xv. 6. 2-3) should be dated about June 2, and that the phrase *praesidia sunt in tot annos provisa* in his letter may safely be added to Sternkopf's arguments (*Hermes*, 1912, p. 340) to prove that Antony had the *lex de permutatione provinciarum* passed on June 1-2.

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